

## Message Text

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43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 BIB-01 CU-02 AF-06 NEA-10 /102 W

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R 161529Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3774

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY NOCOSIA

S E C R E T GENEVA 4522

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: DELEGATION HEADS REPORT TO EC-NINE POLITICAL  
DIRECTORS

1. SUMMARY: A CANADIAN SOURCE, WHO ASKED TO BE PROTECTED,  
HAS GIVEN US THE FULL TEXT OF THE EC-9 HEADS OF DELEGATIONS'  
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RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE EC-9 POLITICAL DIRECTOR'S MEETING

JUNE 16. FOLLOWING IS A PRECISE AND OUR COMMENTS ON BARIOUS ASPECTS OF THIS PAPER. END SUMMARY.

2. TIMING OF END OF STAGE II: THE REPORT POINTS OUT THAT PROGRESS MADE IN THE LAST WEEKS NOW SUGGESTS "REAL" SOVIET DESIRE TO HOLD STATE III IN JULY. SUCH AN OUTCOME STILL DEPENDS, HOWEVER, ON ACCELERATING PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE CONFERENCE, INCLUDING THOSE NOT INVOLVING EAST/WEST ISSUES. BECAUSE OF FINNISH REQUIREMENT FOR FOUR WEEKS NOTICE, THE REPORT SUGGESTS THAT EC-9 MINISTERS CONSIDER QUESTION OF STAGE III TIMING ON JUNE 24. (COMMENT: THIS COULD EFFECTIVELY EXCLUDE STAGE III DURING THE WEEK OF JULY 21ST).

3. FOLLOW-UP:

A) THE REPORT CONFIRMS THE CONTINUING DIFFERENCES AMONG THE NINE TIMING OF THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING IN ASKING THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS TO DECIDE WHETHER THIS MEETING SHOULD BE HELD THREE YEARS AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF STAGE III OR IN 1977 AS THE DANISH TEXT PRESENTLY SUGGESTS. (COMMENT: THE ISSUE REFLECTS FRENCH INSISTANCE ON A LONGER INTERVAL.)

B) THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS ARE FURTHER ASKED TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSED LOCATION, AS WELL AS ASPECTS OF THE ORGANIZATION AND THE DURATION OF SUCH A SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING. (COMMENT: THERE HAVE BEEN PERSISTENT REPORTS THAT FRANCE AND THE FRG WANT TO BUY OFF YUGOSLAV OBJECTIONS TO THE DANISH FOLLOW-UP TEXT BY PROPOSING BELGRADE AS THE SITE OF THE FIRST SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING. RAISING QUESTIONS AS TO THE ORGANIZATION AND DURATION OF THIS MEETING AT THIS STAGE IS PROBABLY INTENDED TO PROVIDE NEW SAFEGUARDS AGAINST EXPLOITATION OF THIS MEETING UNINTENDED BY THE CONSERVATIVES AMONG THE EC-9).

C) REGARDING MULTILATERAL ASPECTS OF THE FOLLOW-UP, THE REPORT CONSIDERS THAT MAINTAINING "CONTROL" OVER THE PROPOSED EXPERTS MEETINGS IS ESSENTIAL, BUT  
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THAT THE NINE SHOULD AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF OPPOSING EXPERTS MEETINGS NECESSARY FOR CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. IT IS THEREFORE SUGGESTED THAT THE NINE PROPOSE

I) AN AMENDMENT TO THE TEXT REQUIRING CONSENSUS FOR AGREEMENTS TO HOLD EXPERT MEETINGS; AND

II) NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT ON THE NUMBER OF SPECIFIC EXPERT GROUPS TO BE CONVENED, WHICH COULD BE INCORPORATED IN A LIST ANNEXED TO THE FOLLOW-UP TEXT.  
(COMMENT: WE AGREE WITH EC-9 INTEREST IN THIS PROBLEM IN PRINCIPLE, BUT FEAR THEY WILL ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET IT TOO NARROWLY, I.E. TO SATISFY ROMANIANS. WE ALSO QUESTION DESIRABILITY OF MAKING A FORMAL LIST AT THIS POINT, WHICH COULD INVOLVE DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS.)

4. FINAL TEXT: PARTICIPATION OF EC-9.  
IT IS FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT THE COUNTRY CHAIRING THE NINE AT THE TIME OF THE STAGE III SUMMIT SIGN THE CSCE DOCUMENT IN BOTH CAPACITIES AND THEN MAKE A STATEMENT ON THE COMMUNITY'S BEHALF. (COMMENT: WE DO NOT BELIEVE A SPEECH ON BEHALF OF THE NINE WILL CAUSE ANY PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS MAY BALK AT THE IDEA OF THE ITALIAN REPRESENTATIVE SIGNING FOR THE EC, ESPECIALLY IF THE NINE ASK FOR AN INDICATION TO THIS EFFECT ABOVE THE ITALIAN SIGNATURE.)

5. THE MALTESE PROBLEM: THE REPORT DEVOTES CONSIDERABLE SPACE TO THIS QUESTION. IT SUGGESTS THAT THE NINE WILL HAVE TO MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO CONVINCE MALTA NOT TO MAINTAIN ITS EXTREME POSITIONS TO THE END OF CSCE IN ORDER TO OBTAIN AN ACTIVE FOLLOW-UP ROLE, OR STAGE III PARTICIPATION FOR THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES. TO THIS END IT SUGGESTS THAT THE NINE TRY FIRST:

A) TO MOLLIFY THE MALTESE BY GIVING THEM A REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE EUROPEAN-ARAB DIALOGUE; AND THEN

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B) TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON THE ISSUE OF MEDITERRANEAN FOLLOW-UP BY IMPLICIT OR EXPLICIT REFERENCES

I) TO THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE FOLLOW-UP DOCUMENT; OR

II) TO THE FOLLOW-UP IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION.

THE REPORT EVIDENTLY DOUBTS WHETHER OPTION (A) WILL SUFFICE, AND CONSIDERS OPTION B (I) LESS DANGEROUS THAN OPTION B (II).  
(COMMENT: WE NOTE WITH INTEREST THAT THIS ANALYSIS DOES NOT ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE CURRENT IMPASSE OVER THE ADDITION OF A NEW PARAGRAPH TO THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION. HOWEVER, IF THE MALTESE DO INDEED DECIDE ON A LAST MINUTE CONFORMATION, EITHER TO OBTAIN INCLUSION OF THIS PARAGRAPH OR ON THE ROLE OF THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN

STATES, IT SEEMS TO US THAT NONE OF THE ABOVE  
EC-9 SUGGESTIONS MAY BY THEMSELVES SUFFICE TO  
CARRY THE DAY.)

6. CYPRUS: THE REPORT CONCLUDES THAT NICISIA AND ATHENS  
HAVE BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE; BUT THAT TURKEY THINKS IT  
PREFERABLE THAT CYPRUS NOT BE REPRESENTED AT  
HELSINKI UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, ALTHOUGH IT BELIEVES THAT  
THE QUESTION COULD BE DECIDED JOINTLY BY CLERIDES AND  
DENKTASH.

7. PUBLIC ASSESMENT OF CSCE: LASTLY THE REPORT  
RECOMMENDS THAT THE NINE DEVELOP JOINT POSITIONS  
FOR PURPOSE OF PUBLIC EVALUATION OF CSCE, TO BE REFLECTED  
IN PRESS AND OFFICIAL STATEMENTS BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER  
STAGE III. DALE

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